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TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

LETTER XV.

Risings in England.—The Reverend Sir Bate's victory over the insurgents at Ely.—The Edinburgh School Project.—The Highland Society and Gaelic Tongue.—Emigration to America, the grand resource.

Botley, 5th June, 1816.

In Letter XIII, dated 18th May, I gave you some account of the risings of the people, in several parts of England. So that, you see, the effects of the war are come home to us, at last; but, I imagine, that the acts which I have recorded, in the Letter referred to, are but *beginnings*. They are mere risings of distressed working people; but, as contemplated in connection with their *causes*, they are of great importance as instances to serve the wise politician as a guide. For this reason I shall record them in the daily detail of them, which is handed out to the public by the means of the press.

There are afloat all sorts of *projects*. The *Tythes* have been slightly assaulted; but, in so nonsensical a way, that the assault is hardly worth notice. Indeed, it is impossible to touch them directly, without a total abandonment of all idea of supporting a dominant Church. Yet, indirectly, late acts of parliament have set a *precedent*, according to which the whole property of the Church may be taken to the public use. These acts have, in fact, taken away from the incumbents, or possessors of livings, part of the produce of them, and have made a distribution of it amongst *curates*. Now, the living of a parson, or vicar, is his *freehold* in law. It would be regarded as a total breaking up of all property, if an act were passed to compel me, for instance, to give a fixed portion of the rent of my land to my bailiff, and to compel me to

have a bailiff, and also to prevent me from turning him off. Here, therefore, is a distinction, and a very important distinction too, *established by law*, between the ownership of Church property and that of lay property. *Advowsons*, or the ownership of livings, and the right of filling them up, are *real property*. They are bought and sold openly and legally. The late Duke of Norfolk had a great many, and he bought them as he would have bought any other estates in land. But, a *precedent* has now been settled, according to which livings are no longer to be considered as *private property*; but, as a species of property of which the parliament, without any violation of right, can dispose of in any manner that it pleases. Nevertheless, there are so many of the livings, which are the property of those who fill the seats in parliament, and so large a part of the Clergy are either the relations or dependants of the same persons, that you need never expect to see any thing effectual done about the Tythes, until the whole system draws towards a state of great peril.

By Mr. CURWEN, the same person who has broached the Tythe project, another of much greater magnitude has been *seriously* brought forward. I mean a project to *abolish pauperism*! I told you, in a Note to page 426 of this Volume, that "this Mr. Curwen was a *curious sort of a man*." Pray look again at that note, and you will be prepared for what I shall hereafter have to relate to you as to this pauper-project. During the Debate for a Committee to sit upon this latter project (which Committee is *actually sitting*!), it was asserted, and, on all hands assented to, that, *unless pauperism could be checked, this country must sink*; and, I have no scruple to assert; that pauperism will *not be checked*, but, on the contrary, will go on increasing at a greater rate than ever, unless the taxes be brought down from 70 to 40 millions a-year; and, of course, *unless a great deduction be made from the dividends in the funds*.

Aye, here I am, then, brought back to the old point. At the end of *ten years*, during which time I have been called by all manner of vile names for proposing a reduction of the dividends, I have, at last, *heard it proposed in the House of Commons!* Not, indeed, by the Ministers, nor in a *formal* manner; but, I have heard one member boldly declare this to be *the only remedy* for the distresses of the country. This subject is, however, too large to be entered upon here; and, therefore, for the present, I will return to my promised detail of the *risings*, which the distresses have produced. You will see, that the risings have been in *several counties*; and you will particularly note the part, which has been acted by the *Yeomanry Cavalry*, and by the celebrated "*Reverend Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Baronet*," whom I did myself the honour to introduce to you in so ceremonious a manner, in No. 3 of this volume, relating to you the whole history of his public life, and a curious and instructive history I am sure you will say it was. What do the Cossacks say to this *famous Priest*?

May 20.—"The Sheriff of Suffolk, and Mr. Willet, the banker, of Brandon, near Bury, arrived in town yesterday, at the Secretary of State's Office, express, with an account of the alarming state of the county, and to request the assistance of Government to restore tranquillity. The public have been for some time apprised of various outrages, committed in that county, in the breaking of threshing machines, and the destruction of barns, corn-stacks, &c. by fire, suspected to be wilful and malicious, the agents in which are presumed to be agricultural labourers, discontented because employment and advance of wages did not immediately follow the recent rise in the price of corn. These outrages were, however, only secret and isolated cases. It was not until the end of the week the discontent of the lower orders broke out into open and general disturbance.

"A reduction in the price of bread and meat was the avowed object of the rioters. They had fixed a *maximum* for the price of both. They insisted that the lowest price of wheat must be half a-crown a bushel, and that of prime joints of beef four-pence per

pound. Mr. Willet, a butcher, at Brandon, was a marked object of their ill-will, in which Mr. Willet, the banker, was, from the similarity of his name, in danger of sharing. This circumstance, and a laudable anxiety to preserve the peace, induced him to take an active part, and exert all his influence to preserve the public peace. On Friday he remonstrated with them on the dangerous consequences of their proceedings, and promised that their demands should be complied with for a fortnight, which would afford time for the consideration of their grievances, and of the means of redress. The malcontents appeared satisfied with this assurance, gave Mr. Willet three cheers, and parted, after expressing a wish to chair him, which he declined. The tranquillity thus restored was, however, of short duration.

"The disturbance broke out again on Saturday, with increased violence, and the malcontents shewed themselves in considerable force. Their whole number amounted to about 1500, divided in several parties, marching in several directions, for the purpose of attacking the houses of those persons who were obnoxious to them. At Brandon they destroyed several houses, including Mr. Willet's, the butcher; that they completely levelled to the ground. Another party of them proceeded to the village of Halesworth, it is supposed, for a like purpose; and the Sheriff of Suffolk, and Mr. Willet, the banker, saw on their way to London, about ten o'clock on Saturday night, a fire near Ely, which they apprehended was the mischievous work of another party of the rioters. They were armed with long heavy sticks, the ends of which, to the extent of several inches, were studded with short iron spikes, sharp at the sides and points. Their flag was inscribed, "*Bread or Blood!*" and they threatened to march to London. The Sheriff of Suffolk and Mr. Willet having laid this representation before the Secretary of State, received from him a promise of every possible protection, and with this assurance they left town last night on their return home. It appears, from the following extract from a *Norwich Paper*, that a similar spirit has displayed itself in that City:—



“Late on Thursday evening a mischievous and riotous disposition manifested itself here amongst some of the lowest class (chiefly youths), who, about nine o'clock, assembled in the market-place, and first began to throw fire-balls about, which seemed to have been prepared for the purpose. They afterwards *broke the Hall windows*, and those of several respectable individuals, and then proceeded to the new mills, breaking all the city lamps in their way. The people at the silk-manufactory being at work, they attacked the windows; and on the lights being extinguished, some of the more audacious broke into the new mills (the windows of which they had first broken), and took thereout a quantity of flour, some of which they threw into the river, and some they carried away in the sacks. On their return from the mills they broke the lamps and windows of several Gentlemen's houses in St. Andrew's, Bank-street, Tombland, Magdalen-street, and other places, and proceeded to Dr. Alderson's house, who on coming out to remonstrate with them on their highly improper conduct, *was knocked down*.

“In consequence of these outrages the Mayor and Magistrates immediately assembled at the Hall, where they continued until a late hour, and the constables and several respectable persons, with staves and torches, proceeded to the mills, but the mob had dispersed. A picquet of the *West Norfolk Militia* was stationed before the Hall, and a party of the *first Royal Dragoons*, commanded by Capt. Phipps, and headed by a Magistrate, went down to Trowse Mills, where it had been reported a party had proceeded, but that happily was not the case; they then returned, and *patrolled the streets till morning*. Every precaution will be taken to prevent a repetition of such violations of the public peace.

“A public notice has just been issued by the Magistrates, that on a repetition of such tumults, the Riot Act will be immediately read, when all persons offending will be liable to the penalty of death. On any appearance of riot, the respectable inhabitants are required immediately to assemble at the Hall, in the Market-place.”

May 23.—“In consequence of a cargo

“of potatoes being about to be shipped at the quay of *Bideford*, a great number of people collected, armed with bludgeons and other weapons, to prevent the exportation taking place. The police of the town apprehended three of the ring-leaders, and confined them in the town prison. Immediately on the event being known, an immense number of shipwrights and others beat off the police, *broke down the prison doors, and released the prisoners*. An express was then sent off to the *North Devon Yeomanry*, who promptly assembled; the mob was immediately dispersed. The cavalry remained under arms, and *patrolled the town during the night*. On Saturday morning several of the rioters were apprehended, and four of them sent off to Exeter, under an escort of the *North Devon Yeomanry Cavalry*. They are now in the County prison. On information being given that a great number of disorderly people were collecting at Appledore and Clew-houses, the Cavalry proceeded to the latter, in order to secure about 30 or 40, who were arming themselves with various weapons. Immediately on the troops appearing, the offenders went on board a ship, which was surrounded with the tide, lowering down the boats, and went off to the Braunton side of the water, and made their escape. We are happy to say no lives have been lost. *Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the North Devon Yeomanry*, for their behaviour in quelling the mob in its infancy. On Saturday night every thing was perfectly tranquil. Soon after *which 40 of the Enniskillen Dragoons arrived* and relieved the Yeomanry, who had been on duty during two nights.

“On Saturday night last some person or persons opened a sliding casement, and entered the workshop of JOHN BEXON (commonly called Serjeant BEXON), framework-knitter, in the Rushes-street, Loughborough, and smashed to pieces the internal part of what is called a thirty plain gauge frame, the property of Mr. NORTON of that town, framesmith. There were in the same shop at the time, a frame belonging to Messrs. Paget and Sons, and two belonging to Messrs. Middleton and Hall, but not the least mischief was done to any of them. Why this injury has been

“ done to Mr. NORTON seems a little
 “ mysterious, for he had nothing at all to
 “ do with the manner in which the frame
 “ was worked, as to the price, nature of
 “ the work, &c.; he was merely the owner
 “ of the frame, and is withal a person of
 “ quiet and inoffensive habits. And on
 “ Monday last, the shop of Thomas Mar-
 “ riott, framework-knitter, of Thorpe-
 “ acre, near Loughborough, was entered
 “ in a similar manner, through the win-
 “ dow, and a thirty-two plain gauge
 “ frame, belonging to Mr. William White,
 “ of Loughborough, *in a great degree de-*
 “ *molished and carried away.* In this in-
 “ stance, as well as the former, there were
 “ three other frames in the shop, one be-
 “ longing to Mr. Marriott, another to his
 “ son-in-law, and the third to Mr. WAL-
 “ LIS, but they escaped being injured.—
 “ *Nottingham Paper.*”

May 23.—“ We have great pleasure in
 “ communicating the termination of the
 “ disturbances at Brandon, in Suffolk.
 “ The inhabitants on Monday *guaranteed*
 “ *the price of flour at 2s. 6d. per stone,*
 “ *with an advance of wages to 2s. per*
 “ *head for a fortnight,* and unless the
 “ millers *reduce their prices* by that time,
 “ the officers of the parish will purchase
 “ their grain at the cheapest rate, and
 “ furnish the poor with provisions at prime
 “ cost. The rioters were perfectly satis-
 “ fied, and tranquillity was completely
 “ restored.

May 24 and 25, Downham, (Norfolk.)

“ On Monday last, a great number of
 “ persons of the labouring class (owing
 “ to the late advance in corn and the
 “ lowness of wages) assembled at the vil-
 “ lage of Southrey, in Norfolk, and im-
 “ mediately proceeded for Downham, be-
 “ tween which places (about seven miles
 “ distance) they forced the labourers
 “ from their houses and work to join
 “ them, and every person they met was
 “ compelled to return with them. When
 “ arrived at the latter place, the number
 “ amounted to nearly 1500; they imme-
 “ diately commenced their scene of action
 “ by entering the shops of the millers and
 “ bakers, and taking away flour, bread,
 “ &c. At Mr. W. Baldwin's mill, a
 “ great many sacks of wheat meal were
 “ thrown into the yard and spoiled.
 “ They then proceeded to the publicans,
 “ and demanded ale, which was brought
 “ in pails into the street; the rioters

“ forced many of the inhabitants to drink
 “ with them. They then went to the
 “ Crown Inn, and drove the Magistrates
 “ (who were holding their weekly sitting)
 “ from the room into the street, and who
 “ with great difficulty succeeded in escap-
 “ ing. Afterwards they proceeded to
 “ the butchers, whose shops they cleared;
 “ during which time the tradesmen in
 “ general were in a state of dreadful anx-
 “ iety, expecting the rioters would make
 “ an attack upon their premises; but
 “ they were prevented by the appearance
 “ of the *Upwell troop of cavalry*, when
 “ the Magistrates, escorted by the troop,
 “ read the Riot Act, and the greatest
 “ possible confusion ensued. *Several*
 “ *Gentlemen narrowly escaped with life,*
 “ *from brick-bats, stones, clubs, &c. that*
 “ *now flew in every direction.* With the
 “ aid of special constables, however, 10
 “ men and four women were taken, and
 “ put into confinement, and the rest gra-
 “ dually dispersed. No lives were lost.

“ Captain Lee (who commanded the
 “ troops) ordered the men to use the back
 “ of their swords, thereby preventing the
 “ carnage that must have otherwise
 “ ensued.

“ The following morning, Tuesday,
 “ brought greater terror to the inhabi-
 “ tants than the preceding day, as it was
 “ generally reported that the rioters were
 “ preparing to attack the town with re-
 “ doubled vigour; the Magistrates direct-
 “ ed the inhabitants to arm themselves
 “ with whatever could be procured, and
 “ *in a short time the town wore a very*
 “ *formidable appearance:* the inhabitants,
 “ with the cavalry, then proceeded to
 “ meet the rioters, who armed themselves
 “ with guns, pitchforks, clubs, and other
 “ weapons, ready for a general attack,
 “ *when an agreement was made by the*
 “ *Gentlemen to allow them an advance of*
 “ *wages, and to release those persons al-*
 “ *ready taken,* which induced them to
 “ return peaceably to their homes.

“ The greatest praise is due to every in-
 “ dividual of the troop for their exertions
 “ in the above cause.

“ Last night, alarming advice was re-
 “ ceived at Lord Sidmouth's Office, of a
 “ desperate insurrection having broken
 “ out in the Isle of Ely: that an immense
 “ body of armed Fen-men had attacked
 “ the house of the Rev. Mr. Vachel,
 “ a Magistrate, resident at Littleport,

"which they destroyed, after despoiling it of its most valuable property having brutally turned Mrs. Vachel and her daughters out of the house, to seek an asylum at twelve o'clock, on Wednesday night"

"The Cambridge Paper, received this morning, says—'We are concerned to state, that there was an alarming riot at Ely yesterday, the particulars of which had not reached our Office when this Paper was put to Press.'"

Chelmsford, May 23.

"On Monday morning an express arrived here, from the War-Office, directing the march of the 47th regiment, from the barracks of this town to Colchester, for which place they proceeded the following morning.

"On Tuesday last two squadrons of the First Dragoon Guards marched into this town from Hounslow, on their route to Colchester.

"An honest, industrious, poor man's hovel was set on fire on Friday night last at Clare; but by the prompt exertions of the inhabitants, the villains were disappointed in their aim, and the fire got under without doing much damage."

"On the 22d instant, James Mays, the younger, of Stoke, near Clare, Suffolk, was brought before the Rev. B. B. Syer, of Ketton, Suffolk, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, charged with having threatened to set fire to a barn belonging to General Elwes, and having given surety for the peace as the law requires, was discharged. In consequence of the arrest of this offender, some of the misguided populace assembled, and proceeded to break up a thrashing machine in the neighbourhood, but the General having, with a very laudable promptitude, procured the attendance of some military force, at the very crisis of the riot, the ring-leaders were committed for the trial and punishment subsequent on such illegal proceedings.

"On Sunday and Monday last, detachments of the 1st Royal Dragoons marched into Bury from Ipswich, part of whom will remain till further orders, and the others proceeded on their route to Brandon, where we understand some symptoms of disorder have manifested

themselves, but the accounts given in several papers are greatly exaggerated."

Scotland.

"At Rutherglen May Fair, on Friday, there was some rioting, and fifteen young men from Glasgow were apprehended, thirteen of whom were, on the following day, convicted, fined, and imprisoned till the fines were paid."

Cambridge, May 24.

"Great alarm has been excited here by the appearance of numerous knots of strange countrymen, coming in with large sticks, for two or three days past. Our Mayor, Colonel Mortlock, apprehensive that this might have been preparatory to an intended entry of the Fen rioters, convened the Magistracy in the Town Hall this afternoon, who swore in three hundred of the principal inhabitants as special constables. The Vice Chancellor, and Heads of Houses, also assembled, and resolved to put arms into the hands of the Students of their respective Colleges, if found necessary."

"Sunday, Eleven o'clock, a. m.—Our alarm has considerably subsided, from intelligence just brought in from Ely, stating, that the main body of the Insurgents were attacked on Friday morning (after the Riot Act had been read without effect) and completely routed. Sir Henry B. Dudley and the Rev. H. Law, two Magistrates of the Island, arriving with Captain Wortham's troop of yeomanry early on Friday morning, and learning that the rioters had determined to set fire to Littleport that night, and the town of Ely on the night following, called out the small detachment of the 1st Dragoons, consisting of eighteen men, commanded by Captain Methuen, and sending twenty-four of the disbanded Militia, who were armed from the country depot by Lieut. Woolert, pushed on to Littleport, where, taking the Insurgents by surprise, their defeat was speedy and complete. The savage rioters soon began to fire upon the Magistrates and the troops, from barricaded houses near the river, when the latter were ordered to fire into them. The conflict, though short, was sharp. The Insurgents soon began to fly from every part of the town over the Fens, and were pursued in every direction: only two of the rioters were killed (one of them a chief)

“and a few wounded—104 were taken
 “prisoners, and more are hourly bring-
 “ing in; fortunately the soldiery had
 “only two or three slightly wounded.
 “The inhabitants of the county now
 “began to stir in their own defence, and
 “accompanied parties of the military to
 “scour the district, and in consequence
 “great quantities of wild fowl swivels,
 “and other guns, pikes, &c. have been
 “brought in. The Magistrates speak in
 “high commendation of the steady con-
 “duct of the three officers and soldiery
 “on this service. Major General Sir
 “John Byng, K. C. B. appointed to the
 “command of this disturbed county,
 “arrived a few hours after the affair:
 “and a reinforcement, consisting of three
 “troops of the 1st Royal Dragoons,
 “three companies of the 69th regiment,
 “and two pieces of flying artillery, were
 “hourly expected at Ely, by forced
 “marches.

“A considerable inclination to riot has
 “manifested itself for several days at
 “Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, and had
 “increased so much on Tuesday last, that
 “it was judged prudent to call out the
 “Huntingdon volunteer cavalry, who
 “proceeded to Warboys immediately:
 “but as their assistance did not appear
 “absolutely necessary, they were desired
 “to return to Huntingdon, where they
 “remained under arms during the whole
 “of Tuesday night, and tranquillity
 “having been restored at Ramsey, the
 “corps were dismissed on Wednesday
 “evening.”

“Extract of a letter from Freshing-
 “field, Essex, May 24:—“That spirit of
 “insurrection which has broke out in
 “Suffolk, has appeared in our parish. I
 “have just returned from the place where
 “the rioters have assembled to the
 “amount of 200, armed with implements
 “of agriculture as their weapons. Last
 “night they destroyed Mr. John Smith’s
 “threshing machine; this morning they
 “visited Mr. Robert Smith’s farm, at
 “Byton hall, and destroyed a plough on
 “a new construction that did not please
 “them. They then came to Bardfield,
 “to destroy Mr. Messent’s machine,
 “and were coming here to do the same;
 “but the people of Bardfield surrounded
 “the barn, and prevented their attacking
 “it, while many of us tried to persuade
 “them to go home again; and I am

“happy to say they have dispersed for the
 “present; but we dread the night, lest
 “they should proceed to further mis-
 “chief.”

“Accounts received on Saturday from
 “Manchester, state that some thousands
 “of the lower orders of the people were
 “assembling about twenty miles distant
 “from Manchester. The intelligence was
 “received in that town by express, from
 “a Magistrate residing in the vicinity of
 “the tumultuous assemblage. Advices of
 “these new movements were immediately
 “forwarded to Government. Saturday
 “a considerable body of cavalry, with
 “several pieces of artillery, passed through
 “Tottenham, on their way to assist in
 “quelling the disturbances.”

Ely, Wednesday Morning.

“Several of the riotous prisoners who
 “had fled, have been brought in in the
 “course of the last two days; three or
 “four of them are delegates who had
 “been active to raise the different parts
 “of the Island, to join the Littleport
 “body. Lord Francis Osborne, who
 “has acted as Vice Lieutenant for Cam-
 “bridgeshire, in the absence of the Earl
 “of Hardwicke, joined the bench of Ma-
 “gistrate, yesterday. The examinations
 “are continuing. The following persons
 “have been fully committed, as numbers
 “of others will be, to be tried before a
 “Special Commission, expected soon to
 “issue, viz.—John Dennis, Thomas Smith,
 “—Joseph alias Little Easy, —Jes-
 “sop, —Cheville, Robert Crab, —
 “Jefferson, Robert Salmon, W. Bennis,
 “jun. James Cambell, Richard Rutter,
 “&c. &c. Seventy more persons remain
 “in custody, charged with capital offences,
 “and about 24 have been liberated on
 “their recognisance, who appeared to
 “have been pressed into this desperate
 “service. The Magistrates, finding that
 “they could now dispense with farther
 “military assistance, directed that the 1st
 “Regiment of Dragoon Guards, under
 “Col. Acam, should fall back to Cam-
 “bridge, and that the Artillery should
 “proceed to Newmarket. The long swi-
 “vel pieces, wild fowl guns, and other
 “arms, about 60 in number, which the
 “rioters used, are now placing on the
 “wall of the Military Depot. The de-
 “tachment of the Royal Dragoons, and
 “the Staff party of the Militia, have just
 “been drawn up, and addressed by Sir

"Henry Bate Dudley, who informed them that he had great satisfaction in being enabled to convey to them the approbation of the Commander in Chief of the temperate and exemplary conduct which they manifested at Littleport, on Friday last, in aid of the Civil Authorities of the country, for the protection of the lives and properties of his Majesty's subjects."

"May 26. (*Durham*).—Serious disturbances had broken out amongst the pitmen and other workmen connected with the collieries upon the Wear. Several hundreds of them went off work, upon the ostensible ground of their present wages being inadequate to their support, while the price of bread corn continues so very much higher than it has been. But through the prompt and vigorous exertions of the Magistrates, aided by two troops of cavalry from *Newcastle*, they have been induced to return to their work. Eight of the ringleaders were taken into custody on Saturday, and committed to *Durham gaol*. No disposition of joining them was at any time evinced by the pitmen upon the Tyne.

"The report which prevailed, of a riot having taken place at *Wisbech Market*, on Saturday last, is unfounded. Some apprehensions of disturbances were entertained; but, by the prudent precautions of the Magistrates, who appointed a considerable number of special constables, and called in the aid of some neighbouring volunteer yeomanry cavalry, the peace of the town was preserved."

Thus have I given you a specimen of what is going on in *England*, as I, some time back, gave you a specimen of what was going on in *Ireland*. Happy America! Happy country, where misery collects no mobs! Happy Republicans, who stand in no need of Yeomanry Cavalry, Dragoon Guards, or Parson Bates, to keep you in order! Happy people, tho' your Government did arise out of a "successful Democratic Rebellion," as our vile prints called it, when they expected to see you reduced to our state.

You cannot have failed to remark, that, upon all occasions, troops of some sort or other were the sole reliance. The Sheriff of *Suffolk*, instead of calling forth the power of the county, of which he is the chief peace officer, and where all are bound

to obey him in order to preserve the peace: instead of using his own great and complete authority, flees out of the county, and tells his tale to the *Secretary of State*! From *Devonshire* to *Scotland*, you see, that discontents prevail, and that risings have taken place, and, every where you see troops called out. It is not a little curious, too, to perceive, that the most active of the Magistrates are *Parsons*, with the *Rev. Sir Henry Bate Dudley, Baronet*, at their head. Certainly a very worthy head. A more fit head could not have been chosen. I expect to see him Archbishop of *Canterbury* yet; or, at least, I should expect it, if the Right Reverend personage, who so worthily fills that Chair, were not much younger than the *Revd. Sir Bate*.

The truth is * * * * *

In the meanwhile, however, it becomes you to bid your Cossacks to look well at what is going on here. It becomes you to ask them whether they would wish to see their country in the same state; and to ask them, whether they think, that their processions and thanksgivings were not rather premature. It is now, too, that the partizans of enormous public Debts ought to be questioned as to the wisdom of imitating our example in this respect. We now see and feel the consequences of the war and its debt. The Special Commission in *Cambridgeshire* and *Suffolk* will soon exhibit some of these consequences in a striking point of view.

The fact is singular enough, that, at one and the same time, the House of Bourbon and the House of Brunswick are issuing Proclamations for the suppression of disturbances. The immediate causes of those disturbances are different in the two countries; but the primary cause is the same. The war; the war, which placed the Bourbons again on the throne of France. This is the cause of the insurrections in France, and of the risings in England, which latter are, by our newspapers, called insurrections too. The war has put down liberty on the Continent; it has prevented Reform in England; but, it has created a million and a half of paupers in England, and it has thrown property into such confusion and caused such general distress and suffering, that the system is, by its own measures, shaken to the very foundation. There are as many

projects and opinions, as to what *ought* to be done, as there are leaves upon a full grown birch tree; the opinions as to what *will* take place, are also various; but, all men of all parties, be their wishes what they may, agree, that *a great change of some sort* must soon arrive. So far from having produced lasting tranquillity, the war has put tranquillity wholly out of the question as far as this country is concerned. It is impossible to collect the means of *paying the interest of the cost of the war* and of keeping up a force such as we are told the state of the country requires, without producing *general misery*. This misery necessarily produces violences; and thus as the war, which was, by its success, to give us uninterrupted tranquillity, given us lasting disorder.

Some weeks back, I observed, that it was impossible for things long to go on quietly as they were then going on. I said, that millions of people could not starve; that it was impossible for things to go on till the highways were strewed with dead bodies; that all the people could not become paupers; that things *must change* as necessarily as putrid matter returns again to animation. It appears, that, in many places, the farmers, tradesmen, and others, have assuaged the multitude by *agreeing to raise the wages of labour*. In some places a sort of suspension of hostilities has been thus effected. But, at *Ely* (a place which I and my family shall always remember!) the fight seems to have been quite a regular thing. The "conflict was *sharp*"; the enemy fired at the Magistrates and Troops, the latter returned the fire; the insurgents soon began to fly in every direction, with loss in *killed, wounded, and prisoners*, the latter *a hundred and four* in number, with more "hourly *bringing in*;" while, on the side of the Magistrates, the loss was only two or three *slightly wounded*. Parties of Troops were, when last heard of, "*scouring the district*," and had "*brought in*" great quantities of wild-fowl, swivels, guns, pikes, &c. and more troops and "*two pieces of flying artillery*" were hastening to the scenes of action. After the battle, the Revd. Sir Bate, we are told, *thanked the Troops*, in the name of the *Commander in Chief*! Why, this is really an *achievement*. The victory of Sir Bate seems to have been nearly as wonderful as that of your brave and enlightened General Jack-

son over our Generals Packenham and Gibbs, at New Orleans. The enemy at Ely fled to the Fens; in your case, he fled to the sea. A *monument* has been voted to record the fame of General Packenham. And, surely Sir Bate will have some mark of honour conferred on him.

It may be proper to call the offending persons "*insurgents, savages, villains, monsters, &c.*" as the Courier news-paper does. But, then, there are great numbers of *Englishmen*, who are insurgents, savages, villains and monsters. There is no getting out of this dilemma. The fact is, they are people in *want*. They are people who have *nothing to lose*, except their lives; and of these they think little, seeing that they have so little enjoyment of them. *Naturally* they are no more savages, villains and monsters than your country people and other working people are. There are never any mobs about *prices* in your country. The market people are never attacked there. A woman, a girl, a boy, or any weak old man, sets off in the evening, and travels *all night*, with a cart or on horse back, with meat, butter, eggs, &c. from all parts of the country, to arrive at Philadelphia market at break of day. Thousands of persons do this in the course of every year; and I never heard of any one being robbed on the way. Now, I will venture to say, that if a woman, so laden, was to attempt in like manner, to travel to any town in England, during the night, she would never arrive safe at the end of thirty miles; and, that, if she had as many lives as a cat, she would lose them before she would, by night (and her route being previously well known) carry her money home.

Am I to allow, think you, that it is in the *nature* of Englishmen to rob and murder? If I were base, or foolish, enough to commit this act of injustice, I should be confuted in a minute by any one who chose to remind me, that your country was chiefly settled by Englishmen; that, as your *names* prove, the far greater part of you are of English descent; and that no very trifling part of your people were actually borne in England. What, then, can be the cause of a difference so disgraceful to us? I am sure, that none of our Priests, regular or irregular, will allow, that you have better religion than we have. Indeed you cannot, seeing that we have religion of *all* the sorts that ever

were heard of in the world. The cause *must*, therefore, be *the difference in the government*; and, I defy any Cossack, though he should have sworn to do all in his power to exterminate freedom, to show that the difference in this part of the character of the two nations is to be ascribed to *any other cause*.

To plunder a market cart would, in America, hardly *pay*. It would hardly yield enough to compensate the robber for his loss of *time*, leaving the risk of punishment wholly out of the question. Besides, what is he *to do* with the plunder? He cannot eat it while it is wholesome, and he has already plenty of food in his house. It is *want*; it is *sheer hunger*; this is what fills a country with robbers, and also with murderers, seeing that murder is frequently necessary to the perfecting of robbery. When pressing want has led the way, then, indeed, the robber proceeds to the gratification of imaginary wants. When once hunger has given him an introduction, his mind becomes familiar with crimes.

Whatever, therefore, has a tendency to create want in a great part of a people must have a tendency to create crimes, especially those of robbery and murder. The present riots have clearly arisen out of want; out of the want of food, which will make even dumb animals break down, or leap over, fences. *Give us food!* is the cry. "*Bread or Blood*" was, it seems, the Motto on the flags in Suffolk; and, if Messrs. BROUGHAM, MACINTOSH, and HORNER and their "School Committee" were to call all their brethren of the Edinburgh Bar to their assistance, they would not, I believe, be able to compose a phrase so completely to the purpose. It is not "*Books or Blood*." Here is no out-cry for books. 'Tis *food* they want; and I know from my own observation, and have a hundred times stated the fact, that, even before this terrible distress came upon us, the labouring people had not *half a sufficiency* of food.

Why, it is so; *why* the poor creatures thus suffer, I have, many times over, fully explained; and, judge you, then, what sense there is in supposing, that the evils of the country, that the weight of the poor-rates, and the thievishness of the poor, are to be removed by teaching the poor children to *write* and *read*! It would be, to the full, as reasonable to ex-

pect, that the miseries and cries, now prevalent, would be removed by that other famous Edinburgh scheme of making a total revolution in our *weights and measures*. I wish these Northern Gentlemen, instead of spending their time in contrivances for *enlightening the English*, would apply a little of it in endeavouring to prevail upon their own country to pay something like its share of the taxes. I wish they would so manage things, that, before they come to teach us "*industrious habits*," their own country should cease to burden us with the expence of making its highways and canals. Before they come to teach the English "*steady habits*," I wish they would teach their own country to pay its *own Sheriffs of counties*, as we pay ours (or, rather ours want *no pay*), and not throw the burden upon us *lazy people*. To hold up Scotland as an object of *our imitation* is to be impudent to a degree worthy of blows. What instances of *liberality* have ever been seen there? Look at the *tax book* and the *office and pension list*; and you will soon see, that Scotland devours in *places and pensions*, including *offices*, *more than she pays* in taxes. Only think of the impudence of affecting to consider us as in need of the *example* of Scotch *industry* and sobriety, while they actually come to us to build their bridges, and to make their roads and canals! And *for what*! What is the pretence? Why, in order to *give employment to the Scotch poor to prevent them from emigrating to America*! What an injustice is this to England! What a folly, to be sure, altogether; but, above all, what impudence it is in these Edinburgh empirics to affect to regard the English as a people behind them in science and morals! Nevertheless these forward pretenders, who thrust their noses every where, do get on with their projects, in general, far enough, at least, to fill their own pockets pretty well. A state of things is come now, however, in which their impudence will avail them little. They may work on with their School-Project; but, unless they can keep up the amount of the taxes their school-project will be of no more use than the barbarous *kelts* of their countrymen were at the Battle of Alexandria, where they pretended to take, and claimed the honour of taking, a standard, which was afterwards *proved* to have been taken by a *Frenchman*, in our service

You, in America, will say, "what is all this to us." It is a good deal to you, if you wish to be informed truly as to what is going on here. Have you any conception of any foolery, any impudence (for I do not know which to call it) equal to that of a Society, formed in London, the avowed object of which is to *preserve the Gaelic Language and the manners of the Highlanders?* They have chosen the Prince Regent one of their members, and have actually addressed him in person, *in that barbarous dialect!* God preserve us! I hope they are not going to compel us all to talk the Scottish tongue and to wear kelts! The Prince is to be their President; and, thus, he is to become the patron of Schools wherein to teach the *Gaelic Tongue*, or, rather *braying*. Who, but such people as these, would have thought of teaching that, which all men of sense are glad to see nearly out of use? What would you think of a project for teaching the English the orthography of Chaucer, or the brogue of Lancashire?

The truth appears to be, that there is a desire to prevent the old *Clanship* and feudal slavery from being worn away. It is pretended, that the Highlands produce "a *warlike* race, useful to the nation." But, it is a notion contradicted by experience as well as by reason, that men in savage life make the best soldiers. Savages may suit the purposes of a government, whose mode of warfare is savage; but, the lazy, filthy savage is far from being *so good a soldier* as the man, who has been reared up in civilized society.

But, * * * * *
And, you may be assured, that this is the *real* cause, why this Highland trick is played off.

It is curious to observe the *ferment*, in which the world is. Alexander is proclaiming at Petersburg in support of the *Christian Religion*; just as if that were *not safe*. Our Regent is proclaiming about the risings in England. In France Louis is proclaiming against plots and conspiracies. They have begun again to murder the Protestants in the South of France, just at the time that Alexander is proclaiming. In Barbadoes the Negroes are burning plantations. At *Honiton* in Devonshire, the people have just begun to burn bakers' shops, as the newspapers of yesterday tell me. Ireland is in a state,

for the greater part, of *permanent proclamation*. And, 300 Swiss and 400 Wurtembergers are at Amsterdam, ready to set sail for the United States of America, notwithstanding Parson Bates's newspaper, some time ago, expressed its *sweet satisfaction*, that our war against the United States had *cost them 14 millions!* This is the *end* of all their measures. They may do what they please, or what they *can*. America is open at last, unless she can be *cajoled* (for she is not to be *forced*) into a state of slavery, the cause of freedom must yet triumph. *Seven hundred people*, who wish to avoid the oppressions of Europe, all ready to embark at once! Only let the thing go on thus for a few years, and despotism will easily be set at defiance.

There are several correspondents, upon the subject of *emigration*, who shall receive an answer in my next Number.

WM. COBBETT.

PROTESTANTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

(Lord Castlereagh's Speech continued from p. 704.)

The Protestants had risen to power since the revolution, and had secured to themselves the majority of public offices. (A laugh). This power they enjoyed under Bonaparte, while the return of the Bourbons gave the Catholics hopes of supplanting them, which from their numbers, loyalty, and patriotism, they considered themselves justly entitled to do. The Noble Lord then proceeded to read many more passages, among which the most striking were, "that previously to the return of Bonaparte several songs had been sung, insulting to the feelings of the Protestants, and exciting rancour and animosity. The Duke of Angouleme, who was then in the country, hastened to meet Bonaparte at Lyons, but he was stopped by the treachery of General Mallet; his followers then dispersed, and fell victims to the fury of the Protestants or the adherents of Bonaparte." (Mark the synonyme, said Sir Samuel Romilly, the Protestants, or the adherents of Bonaparte,) "During the four following months the Protestants committed great excesses on the royalists; at this period commenced the re-action, and the excesses were retaliated after the news of

the battle of Waterloo: the disturbances at Nismes were carried to a perilous extent, but those who committed them were of the lowest class of Catholics; the richer Protestants suffered in their property and houses. However, the crimes were greatly exaggerated, and many accounts in the English newspapers were entirely forged. The number of lives lost in the department were under 1,000, and at Nismes under 200. The House must see that the King had no authority, no army, here. There were details in the management of government, of which no man sitting here tranquilly in parliament could form a judgment. "A considerable number of houses was plundered and burnt; and though there was little doubt that encouragement was given to these crimes, yet many of the magistrates were disposed to resist: but they were provided with no military force. Matters stood thus, when on the arrival of Prince Stahremberg in August, measures were taken, by which a general distrust was excited among the Protestants; they were 120,000 in number, and it was in vain to expect tranquillity at once. The officer best qualified to restore peace was General Lagarde." This did not argue illiberality in the government to choose a Protestant for the command of the province, and, therefore it did look a little as if the Hon. and Learned Gentleman was seeking for a case, when he attributed to a general want of toleration measures taken for one troubled district. "General Lagarde's assassination was considered a public calamity; the Protestants had lost a friend who alone could give a free opinion to the Duke of Angouleme. The neighbouring departments, and the Protestants in them, with the exception of Cevennes, were in a state of tranquillity; and, after every inquiry, it appeared that the disturbances at Nismes were a local and partial feud." This then was the error of the societies in this country; they took the matter up as a general disturbance, and sent out their papers to places in perfect tranquillity; they further sent a respectable clergyman to the disturbed district, he published a pamphlet, which the Hon. and Learned Gentleman repeated, and this was the way in which it was attempted to harrow up the feelings of the House. "In the neighbouring districts there was no distur-

bance; in Montpellier there was no interruption of the communication between the two persuasions; intermarriages were celebrated between them, and the Protestant public functionaries continued in office. In Lyons there was no interruption of peace, and there was one minister of the reformed church so admired that many Catholics attended to hear him." Did this savour of general intolerance, or did it warrant the interference of the city of London? "It could not be wondered at, that in the department of the Gard the King should not choose to place authority in those hands which had so lately been raised against him. There was not a conscientious Protestant who expected more liberality than had been exercised towards them: his Majesty was surely justifiable in refusing to place power in the hands of the Protestants at the present crisis, but it would be proper for him to adopt mild and conciliatory measures." If this was the case, our interference was more likely to produce evil than good. "The disturbances were quite local, and had been greatly exaggerated." The Learned Gentleman would not recommend prosecuting one side, without also attacking the other [Loud cries from the opposition;] he had admitted that no outrages had occurred since December, and he now wished to revive the disputes; but by making ourselves a party we should only increase the evil. "There was no hope of tranquillity without a change of ministry." But with this parliament could not interfere. "A late communication from Nismes complained of severity towards the Protestants, and assigned as a reason the letter received from the Protestant Society in London." [Hear, hear, hear.] "They caused a strong feeling of dissatisfaction and uneasiness among the Protestants themselves." It was impossible that foreign interference could produce any effect but the contrary of what was wished; the present had been productive of injury by exciting false hopes on the one side, and jealousy on the other; and the best informed Protestants, though they respected the motive, dreaded the consequences of such interference. The house would see that there was no ground to charge the French with systematic persecution and intolerance; that the disturbances were completely local, and the

departments on the very borders of it were tranquil and unaffected: he had reason to hope, therefore, that this serious mischief would soon find an end. He did not deny that the mischief was serious, but it was not by blowing a trumpet, and telling a tale, to make people believe that we were returned to the bigotry of the 9th century—it was not by highly colouring the violences of one party that we could put an end to these religious struggles. It was on these grounds—on a persuasion that the French government had but one feeling and one interest (for who would be benefitted, or what rational object could be gained, by fomenting these disturbances?)—that he thought any proposal impolitic which would lead parliament to interfere, on the notion that we stood in a relation with respect to France which justified our demanding some concessions. He denied that we stood in any such relation; we were obliged to keep a military force there, because we were persuaded that the government of Louis XVIII. was the most likely to ensure peace. We were pledged to support him against any revolutionary spirit that remained, but we had not given a pledge that we should interfere or administer the internal jurisprudence of France—we were the protectors of our own rights, not of the government of France. He hoped, and was indeed satisfied that the Honourable Gentleman could have no design to cast obloquy on the members of that government; but he knew that there were others who promoted such designs: there were spirits abroad who were anxious to overturn the power of Louis XVIII. and the peace which had placed their prospects at an immediate distance. He warned the country against the proposals that had been made: there was no prospect of happiness but in peace, and no peace but in the present government of France. He acquitted the Hon. and Learned Gentleman of any bad intentions, but his speech would certainly be attended with bad consequences, containing, as it did, such exaggerated statements, dressed up with all the eloquence of which the subject was capable. His Lordship would not give his consent to a motion so injurious. [Hear, hear.]

Mr. BROUGHAM complained that the tone and manner of the Noble Lord were not at all justified by any thing that had

fallen from his Hon. and Learned Friend (Sir S. Romilly). He begged leave to put in a distinct disclaimer to the objects and principles imputed by the Noble Lord—first, as to the hostility of the supporters of the motion to the family of Bourbon; next, as to their wish to disturb the peace of Europe by destroying the tranquillity of France; and thirdly, as to their intention of enforcing a direct and offensive interference with the internal regulations of the French government—an interference alien to the plainest principles of policy, and upon a subject that could be touched only with a most cautious and delicate hand. For the information of the Noble Lord, who appeared to be most singularly ignorant upon this subject, he begged to state, that it was possible to moot a question of this kind, to ask for accounts of the state of our persecuted Protestant brethren, and what steps had been taken for their relief and protection, without danger of exposing the country to the calamity of a new war. (The whole scope of the proposition was to obtain information, that, if deemed necessary by parliament, steps might be taken; and although the Noble Lord might refuse his assent, a very important object had been accomplished, for in the course of his speech the Noble Lord had given most ample and valuable information, which more than confirmed the statement made of the horrible atrocities of which the deluded Catholics had been guilty in the department of La Gard. While the Noble Lord, with such exultation among his friends, was reading the statement, which he had produced to the House, every man, not blinded by admiration of the stupendous abilities of his Lordship, must have seen that it completely proved the case in favour of the motion: the Noble Lord was partially aware of the fact, and had interlarded his document with such observations as he thought calculated to remove the unfavourable impression. So far from showing that the assertions of the honourable mover had been exaggerated, it proved directly the contrary. The House had heard with astonishment, that no less than 1,000 murders had been committed,—a number far exceeding the calculation of other men. The Noble Lord had next endeavoured to alarm the House by referring to a period not long past, when religious con-

troversy had produced unhappy consequences in the county of Armagh; but did he mean to say, that even during the rebellion of 1798 and 1799 the outrages had equalled those of La Gard? (Lord Castlereagh said across the table that he did not refer to the date mentioned.) If the Noble Lord did not allude to the rebellion, his argument was the weaker; for if not during the period of rebellion, where could be found any thing like a parallel to the horrors of La Gard. Within the space of three months a thousand murders had been committed: where could similar atrocities be found in the history almost of any country? What had fallen from the Noble Lord regarding the ten thousand men who had oppressed a part of France by their adherence to Bonaparte did not at all apply, because at that period hostilities had not ceased. The motion did not require that this country should draw the sword in favour of the Protestants: other means of redress were in our hands which might be used without any breach of amity. It was the duty of England to use them peacefully, and delicately, in proportion to the importance and delicacy of the subject. It was the duty of government to make such representations to the authorities in France, as became the situation of that country, and the attitude we were entitled to assume. A renewal of hostilities would not necessarily be the consequence: on the contrary, in former times, when we had felt called upon to interpose in favour of those who were unjustly suffering, our sympathy had been frequently rewarded by the accomplishment of the desired object. The Noble Lord had frequently reverted to a favourite topic—the injury done to the cause of the Protestants by the humane interference of their brethren in this country; and the example of those benevolent persons was held up as a warning to the house. “Though your ancestors have frequently interposed with effect, you must not think of endeavouring to rescue these unhappy people from destruction,” said the Noble Lord; and what was the reason assigned? “I admit (added his Lordship) that their persecutors inflict upon them inhuman cruelties; that they are tortured—that they are murdered; that in three months 1,000 murders for conscience-sake have been perpetrated, and not one offender executed

or even brought to trial: but you must not interfere, because the generous sympathy of the people of England will only draw down upon the Protestants of France new calamities.” [Hear.] Such was the argument of the Noble Lord: and he (Mr. Brougham) had heard it with more regret, because it was not the last time it would be employed. The subject of the Slave Trade, was shortly to be brought before the House,—another attempt would be made to ameliorate the condition of those with whom we had, in common, neither manners, language, religion, nor complexion: but, what would be the answer of the Noble Lord to such a proposition? He had given a foretaste of it to-night. “Do not interfere (he would say)—do not endeavour to promote the happiness of the slaves; it is true they are now whipped with scourges, but if you interpose they will be flogged with scorpions.” Such an argument would not impose upon the understanding of Parliament. The Noble Lord had stated, that he was no friend to peace who diminished the stability of the present government of France: it was true that conflicting opinions had been entertained as to the propriety of our interference in the establishment of the Bourbons, but both parties might now join sincerely in the prayer that that family might not be disturbed. That it should continue on the throne of France, presenting a firm front to its enemies, and a benevolent countenance to its friends, must be the nearest and dearest wish of every man who rejoiced in the happiness of France, and in the tranquillity of Europe; but he was at a loss to imagine how this government was prevented from remonstrating on the subject of the Protestants at a time when we had an army in France, and a General with powers little less than sovereign. He trusted that the present discussion would operate as a spur to those who had authority in our neighbour kingdom; at least it would show, that there were a few persons in Great Britain who felt the ancient sympathy of their forefathers, and who felt equal piety for the persecuted, and indignation at the authors of their calamities.

Lord BINNING maintained that Protestants and Bonapartists were in truth synonymous; and that interference was most of all to be avoided at a time when

we had an imposing force in France, because then it would be most likely to give umbrage.

Mr. W. SMITH supported the motion.

Sir Samuel ROMILLY, in reply, said, that it was not his intention to divide the house upon the question. He had never known more flagrant injustice done to an individual than he had experienced in the course of this debate. Never having himself intentionally given offence, he was at a loss to account for the marked and designed injustice done him by the Noble Lord. [Order, order, from Lord Castlereagh.] He had no wish to give personal offence to the Noble Lord, but he thought he had not been fairly treated. Principles and motives had been attributed to him which he had never entertained, both with regard to the government of France, and to the dangerous interference which he was supposed to require. The kind of interference which he recommended was one merely of amicable suggestion and good offices; and it was admitted on the other side, that ministers had already interfered to a certain extent. The Noble Lord had accused him of exaggeration; but he was extremely happy that the report to which the Noble Lord had alluded as authority bore ample testimony to the truth of all his statements. The Noble Lord must know that he abstained from mentioning many circumstances of horror, which, if it had been his wish to inflame the feelings or imagination of the house, he might have derived from the same source of information. He was not conscious of any intention to heighten the colour of those descriptions, because the mention of them was abhorrent to his nature, or because he could not express himself with the same coolness as others in touching upon such subjects. [Hear, hear.] In consequence, however, of what had fallen from the other side, he must remind the Noble Lord, that whilst the town of Nismes was in the possession of the Bonapartists, not a single murder had been committed. The latter party never directed their hostility against religion as a distinctive characteristic of political inclination. The persecution carried on by the emissaries, partisans of the present government of France, had been aimed against the Protestants as such. He certainly thought the proclamation of the government, describing these outrages as

excusable acts of vengeance, entirely without justification. He was quite sure that the present discussion would be attended with happy effects, and that it would serve to exhibit to the world that there was at least one place in which the enormities of such monsters as he had described, however they might be countenanced or rewarded elsewhere, were sure to be stamped with the infamy which belonged to them. Was it because it was only in the department of the Gard, containing a population of 160,000 persons, where these disorders prevailed, that they were to be regarded as unworthy of notice? As the Noble Lord had thought proper to refer to the period of 1780, he would also remind him that although a religious mob then dominated, they did not commit a single murder; but that, on the other hand, government acted with an extraordinary severity. Much blood was shed both in the streets and on the scaffold, and it was not the fault of government that Lord George Gordon was not brought to a public execution. He had certainly as good a right to comment on the proclamation of Louis as on a proclamation of his own king. He felt great respect for the personal character of Louis; but he considered that he, as well as our own Prince Regent, had the misfortune to be dependent on others. After hearing the whole case made out by the Noble Lord, he had no doubt that, under all its circumstances, the letter of the Duke of Wellington was wholly unjustifiable on the facts. He would not divide the house, but he felt satisfied that the result of this discussion would be beneficial.

After a few words of explanation from Lord BINNING and Lord CASTLEREAGH, the question was put and negatived.

DEBATE ON THE FINANCES OF THE COUNTRY.

(May 31, 1816.)

Mr. J. P. GRANT moved the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate on the finance resolutions. He regretted that this important subject had not fallen into abler hands; but he felt that he should have neglected his duty, had he not called the attention of the House to it. There was no man but must be aware that the country was in a state of unparalleled financial difficulty. Not

only did the expenditure of this year exceed the revenue, but there was no immediate prospect of its being otherwise in future years. If, therefore, his motion should tend to convince the House of the imperative necessity of adopting a scale of economy in the national expenditure, a great object would be attained. Despondency as to our finances was not his feeling, because a great nation like this could always call forth adequate resources; but it would be requisite that every man should lend his best efforts to prevent financial derangement. It had always appeared to him extraordinary that ministers should not have appealed to the House in this critical emergency; and that, instead of submitting the finances of the country to a Committee of the House, they had preferred resorting to temporary expedients. He was aware that any thing like perfect accuracy could not be expected from him; indeed, any person, not possessing the facilities of official information, must find it difficult to arrive at a correct statement. To be detected in a slight inaccuracy would give him no sort of pain; but if it could be shown that he was materially wrong in his calculation of the expenditure and revenue of the United Kingdom, he should feel the greatest satisfaction, because every person must rejoice to find that our situation was not so alarming as it was conceived to be. He had endeavoured to render his statement as concise as possible; he had not given the total produce of the taxes, nor taken the total expenditure; all he had done was, to state from the votes of the House, and the estimates laid upon the table, the expenditure of this year; and, on the other hand, he had taken the revenue of the year exclusive of the consolidated fund. He had not taken Ireland separately, but had stated the expenditure of the United Kingdom. With these observations, he should proceed to detail the facts which were included in the resolutions which he was about to propose. The first part of the resolutions went to show the sums that had been voted for the army, navy, ordnance, sinking fund, and the interest on Exchequer bills now outstanding. The first resolution stated, that there had been voted for the service of the navy, during the present year, the sum of 10,114,345*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* The second resolution stated, that, exclusive of the ex-

pense of the army serving in France, to be defrayed out of the contributions stipulated in the treaty of peace, and of the regiments in the East Indies, which were to be maintained by the East India Company, there had been voted for the service of the army during the present year the sum of 8,504,106*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* The third resolution stated, that in this sum the expence of the commissariat in Ireland was included, but the commissariat in England amounted to the sum of 405,240*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* The fourth resolution was that, exclusive of the expense of the barrack department in Ireland, which formed a part of the above sum of 8,504,106*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* voted for the army, an estimate had been presented of the expence of the barrack department during the present year, which amounted to the sum of 178,626*l.* The fifth resolution stated that the extraordinary expenses of the army for the present year might be estimated at 1,500,000*l.* The sixth resolution stated, that the said several sums of 8,504,106*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*, 405,240*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*, 178,626*l.* and 1,500,000*l.* forming the total expence of the army for the present year, amounted to 10,587,972*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* The 7th resolution stated, that including the sum of 67,205*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* for the service of Great Britain in 1814; and of 16,851*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the service of Great Britain in 1815; and of 19,384*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* for services in Ireland in 1815; but exclusive of the ordnance military corps in France, there had been voted for the charge of the office of ordnance during the present year, the sum of 1,696,185*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* The eighth resolution stated, that the miscellaneous services of the present year might be estimated at the sum of 2,000,000*l.* The ninth resolution stated, that there had been rated for the interest and sinking fund on exchequer bills outstanding, during the present year, the sum of 2,260,000*l.* The tenth resolution stated, there had been voted for discharging certain annuities, granted by two acts of the 37th and 42d years of his present Majesty, the sum of 174,681*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The eleventh resolution stated, there had been voted, for paying off debentures issued in pursuance of two acts of the 53d year of his present Majesty, and the interest due thereon, the sum of 807,085*l.* The twelfth resolution stated, that there was payable to the Bank of England, upon exchequer

bills outstanding and falling due during the present year, the sum of 1,500,000*l.* The thirteenth resolution stated, that there must be provided, during the present year, to discharge the debt due to the East India Company, the sum of 245,491*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The fourteenth resolution stated, that the said several sums forming, so far as the same could at present be ascertained, the expenditure to be defrayed by Great Britain during the present year, exclusive of the charges on the consolidated fund, but including the proportion of the said expenditure payable under the treaty of union by Ireland, amount to the sum of 30,085,761*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* The fifteenth resolution stated, that in the year ending 5th of January, 1816, the sums actually applied to defray the charges on account of the national debt of Ireland, including interest on exchequer bills, amounted to 6,369,170*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*; whilst the net revenue paid into the exchequer of Ireland during the same year, was only 5,752,861*l.* 5*s.* 11*d.*, leaving a deficiency of the revenue to defray the charges of the national debt, amounting to 616,308*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* in Irish currency. The sixteenth resolution stated, that, as the revenue of Ireland appeared to be thus incapable of defraying even the charges on account of its national debt, a further sum must be provided to defray the expense of the civil list, and other permanent charges, which, in the year ending 5th January, 1816, amounted to 500,915*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* Irish currency. The seventeenth resolution stated, that, under these circumstances, no part of the proportion payable under the treaty of union by Ireland, towards the joint expenditure of the United Kingdom, could be calculated as receivable from the revenues of Ireland; but that, on the contrary, the deficiency of the said revenues to defray the charges on the national debt, and the expenses of the civil list, and other permanent charges of that country, must be in future otherwise provided for: which deficiency on the said accounts amounted, in the year ending the 5th January, 1816, to 1,117,224*l.* 7*s.* Irish currency, or 1,031,284*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* British. The eighteenth resolution stated, that on the 5th of January last, the sum due by Ireland to Great Bri-

tain, as the balance arising from the payments made by each country respectively, on account of the joint charges of the United Kingdom, amounted in British currency to the sum of 2,942,280*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.*; and that on the same day there remained in the Exchequer of Ireland an unappropriated balance, amounting in Irish currency to the sum of 1,448,086*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* making in British currency 1,336,695*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*; which last sum being deducted from the said sum of 2,942,280*l.* 8*s.* 11*d.* there remained a further sum to be provided on account of Ireland, in the present year, amounting in British currency to 1,605,585*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The nineteenth resolution stated, that, supposing the deficiency of the revenue of Ireland in the present year to be the same as in the last, the said sum of 1,031,284*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* together with the said sum of 1,605,585*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* and the said sum of 30,085,761*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* would form the whole expense of the United Kingdom during the present year, so far as the same could be at present ascertained, exclusive of the charges on the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and of the charges supposed to be provided for by the revenue of Ireland amounting in all to the sum of 32,722,630*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* This, then, being the actual amount to be provided for the whole service of the United Kingdom, he would next come to the ways and means for defraying this expenditure. The monies received or receivable within the year had been calculated at 16,584,976*l.*; which, being deducted from the sum of 32,722,630*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.*, the total expenditure made a difference of 16,137,654*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* The Right Hon. gentleman had forgotten the transport service; but he had since found a sum to answer it, which balanced that account. A further sum of 500,000*l.* had been required for the new coinage, which, being taken from the sum of 2,520,340*l.* arising out of the Irish budget, there would remain a farther sum of 2,020,340*l.* to be provided for; and this being deducted from the 16,137,654*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* left a balance of 14,117,314*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* to be provided for.

(To be Continued.)